

684 /225 cont. / get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group
of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She
gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to
get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him.
Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the cere-
monies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her
cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh,
people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later,
the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it
turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go
off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu),
the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she
married this man.

[672] /226/ In none of these instances was the woman there-
fore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very
siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within
half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk
of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather
than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus
being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men
married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and
thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But
there certainly was understanding of her action and the feel-
ings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just
described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings
of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course
of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
• [52] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal
feelings of anger in him.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

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Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565
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Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567
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567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under
forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly
all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one
family. They said that they had a very small house and were
very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master
family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
houses have many more. The population has risen some
despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving
around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with
the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty
years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many
places, especially to Banjarmasin to work in connection with
rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk
about it, but they have no money so they have to remain.
When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits
to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in.
I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the
poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend
to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies.
They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They
mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world,
but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved
in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same
here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people
from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampung
brings the mail to the kampung of Balombaru. And if he
doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay.
There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding
literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst]
put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said
also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as deadpan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

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000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about
the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the
awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't
let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not
wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the
women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese
men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in
[565] the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be
that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but
if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble
in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver
and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final
they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration
papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage
is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of
one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to
the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas,
the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said
that this will mean very little in this area except for the
formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to re-
ceive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect,
too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean
further insecurity for his position. There are great prepa-
rations being made for this event at the present time. There
will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently
a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge.
This is merely a generic term. At the top are the
ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here
(though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one
hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng,
descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and
tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depend-
ing on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera
descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only